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ANTIQUITIES.

I.—*On the Ancient Irish Missal, and its Silver Box, described by Dr. O'Conor in his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS., and now the property of the Earl of Ashburnham.* By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., F. S. A., President.

Read June 23, 1856.

IN May, 1855, I had the privilege, through the kindness of their present noble owner, to examine the Irish MSS., formerly in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, at Stowe. To one of these MSS., and to the inscriptions on the silver box in which it is preserved, I purpose in the present communication to call the attention of the Academy.

But first, perhaps, it will be desirable to state, for the sake of some of my hearers, that when these MSS. were offered for public sale in London, the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, with their usual enlightened liberality, commissioned me to purchase such of the Irish MSS. as I might think most necessary for the University Library; and placed at my disposal a sum of £300 for that purpose. In the meanwhile, however, negotiations were opened by the owners of the property with the British Museum, for the purchase of the entire collection, which contains, besides the Irish MSS., a great number of extremely valuable documents, illustrating the civil and ecclesiastical history of Great Britain and Ireland, and many most important specimens of early English as well as Oriental Literature. But the trustees of the Museum received the communication with indifference. They merely caused a proposition to be made as to the disposal *separately* of the Irish portion of the collection; and this having met with a prompt refusal, this magnificent collection of MSS. became the property of the Earl of ASHBURNHAM.

About this time I had been nominated by the Government one of a Commission to prepare for publication the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland, commonly called the Brehon Laws; and, knowing that among the Stowe MSS. there was at least one important Brehon Law MS.—“The Book of Acaill,”—I made application to Lord ASHBURNHAM for permission to see the collection. My name had been kindly mentioned to his Lordship by my friend—alas! I must now say my late friend—Mr. HOLMES, of the British Museum; and I received a most polite reply, in which his Lordship informed me that he was at that time building an addition to his house, for the reception of his MSS., but that as soon as he had completed his arrangements, he would be happy to see me at Ashburnham-place.

Accordingly, in the May of last year, his Lordship fulfilled his promise, and sent me a kind invitation to visit his noble mansion, with its unrivalled literary treasures. I went over to England specially for the purpose, and arrived at Ashburnham-place on the afternoon of Monday, the 28th of May,—his Lordship having most politely sent his carriage for me to the railroad station—a distance of about ten miles.

The next morning his Lordship introduced me to his MS. room, and gave me free permission to examine the MSS. I had taken Dr. O’CONOR’s Catalogue with me, and I examined everything in the Irish part of the collection that seemed to be of any importance or interest. When I speak of the Irish part of the collection, you will understand me to mean those MSS. only which are in the Irish language: there is a large number of MSS. in the English and Latin languages relating to Ireland, which are of the utmost value to the future historian of this country; but with these I did not meddle.

By far the most interesting and important MS. in the collection is the ancient Irish Missal, which will be the subject of the present remarks. Its venerable *cumhdach*, or cover, has been remarkably well represented in the plates which accompany the second volume of Dr. O’CONOR’s “*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*.” These plates give a tolerably correct idea of the box and its ornaments, as well as of the inscriptions it bears. Dr. O’CONOR has also published an elaborate essay on this box, in the Appendix to his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS., vol. i., App. No. I.; but it is deeply to be lamented that he did not abridge some of his “*excursus*,” and give us instead a correct transcript of the very important

text of the ancient Latin Missal which the box contains. Such a transcript would have superseded his unsatisfactory description of the MS., and would have been an invaluable addition to our existing materials for a history of the primitive Missal of the western Churches.

As my examination of the original box enables me to correct some mistakes committed by Dr. O'CONOR in his attempts to translate the inscriptions on its top and bottom, I shall first give these inscriptions in full, making such remarks as may be necessary as to the particulars in which I differ from Dr. O'CONOR.

The inscriptions on what is now the bottom of the box are evidently older than those on the top, and cannot be later than the middle of the eleventh century. They are inscribed on four plates of silver, running round the sides of the square; and on two others crossing in the centre at right angles. The central part of these two latter plates has, however, been rudely cut away, in a most barbarous manner, apparently by a chisel, in order to make way for an oval, which originally contained a crystal, such as we commonly find on ecclesiastical boxes of this description. This oval is exactly the same as that on the other side, or top of the box, and proves that the mutilation of the inscription must have been perpetrated at the time when the inscriptions and other ornaments of the top were added. This is an additional proof that the inscriptions of the bottom are the more ancient; but, without that evidence, the characters sufficiently prove this to be so to every one who is at all familiar with monuments of this kind.

I may remark here, that Dr. O'CONOR's plate representing the bottom of the box ought to be inverted. This will place the inscriptions in their natural order, beginning with the following, which will then appear on the upper rim: *—

* It is to be observed that Dr. O'CONOR represents the letter *p* of these inscriptions by the italic *n*.—Appendix I., p. 2, *sq.* (Stowe Cat., vol. i.) But this was from a want of Irish type, not from ignorance. It is strange, however, that he did not print the letter, as he knew it was, *r*, instead of telling his readers, "It is also observable, that the letter *r* is scarcely different from the letter *n*, being written with two shafts of equal length," &c. This is only saying, in other words, that the inscription is in Irish characters of the eleventh century; but when every other letter in the inscription was represented by its corresponding modern italic letter, one does not see why *r* should be represented by *n*.

benacht de ar cech an
main as a haribliuth

“THE BLESSING OF GOD ON EVERY
SOUL WHO DESERVES IT.”

Dr. O'CONOR renders this, “Benedictio Dei unicuique qui huic operi contulit plus vel minus”—“To each soul who worked (or contributed to this work) much or little.” But this is rather a paraphrase than a translation, and is evidently founded on a mistake as to the meaning of the last word in the inscription, which is from the root *cullim*, *to deserve*, with the eclipse or omission of the initial *c*.

The inscription on the lower rim, constituting the opposite side of the square, ought, perhaps, to be read next. It is as follows:—

OR DO DONOCHAD MACC
BRIGIN DO RIȝ HERENO

“A PRAYER FOR DONNCHADH SON OF
BRIAN, KING OF IRELAND.”

These words enable us to date the inscription, as Dr. O'CONOR has well observed. For this Donnchadh, son of the celebrated Brian Boroimhe, was actually King of Munster, but afterwards became King of Ireland, having first caused his brother, Tadhg, joint king with himself of Munster, to be murdered, A. D. 1023; which fact is thus recorded in the Annals of Tighernach at that date; and it is to be remembered that Tighernach was a contemporary writer: *—

Tadhg mac brian boroimhe do mapbad
b'elab a bpell, rap na umail b'a bpachap
.i. do Ohonbchað.

Tadhg, son of Brian Boroimhe, was killed
by the Elians with treachery, they having been
instigated thereto by his brother, viz., by
Donnchadh.

And the same statement is made by the Four Masters at the same year.

In 1026 Donnchadh invaded Leinster, and assumed the sovereignty of Ireland, having succeeded in carrying off hostages from Meath and Bregia, from

* I quote from the MS. of Tighernach in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the text of this important Annalist having been most incorrectly printed by Dr. O'CONOR.

the Danes, and from the men of Leinster and of Ossory, as we learn from the following record in the Annals of Tighernach.

Sluaighthead la mac mbriain cop gab
gialla fep mbreag 7 Mide, 7 Gall, 7 Laiſen,
7 Oppaiſe.

An expedition by [Donnchadh*], son of
Brian, who took hostages from the men of
Bregia and Meath, and the foreigners, and
Leinster, and Ossory.

He subsequently invaded Connaught, and obtained hostages from the then king, Roderick O'Connor, in 1059 (Tighernach.)

In 1064, however, Donnchadh was expelled from Ireland, after which he appears to have professed repentance for his ambition and other crimes, as he then undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died in a monastery. Tighernach thus records this fact:—

Donnchad mac briain boroimhe, riſ
Mumhan, do achplogad, 7 a bul don Rom
bia ailiſpe, co nepbuit, iap mbuaid nait-
piſe a mainipſi Steaphan.

Donnchadh, son of Brian Boroimhe, King of
Munster, was deposed, and went to Rome in
pilgrimage, where he died after the victory of
penitence, in the monastery of Stephen.

From these facts it is evident that the inscription before us, which calls this Donnchadh King of Ireland, cannot be older than 1023, when he appears to have aimed at the supreme sovereignty, by ridding himself of his brother, nor later than 1064, when he was expelled from Ireland.†

We conclude, therefore, that the inscriptions on this side of the box, which are evidently all of the same date, must be assigned to the first half of the eleventh century; and, therefore (it is reasonable to infer), the MS. for which so costly a case was provided must have been at that time regarded as of considerable antiquity and importance.

The next inscription is as follows:—

✠ OCUS DO MACC RAITH HU O
ONDOCHADA DO RIſ CASSIL

“AND FOR MAC RAITH HU
DONNCHADHA, KING OF CASHEL.”

* See Four Masters in anno 1026.

† See Dr. O'BRIEN's tract on the “Law of Tanistry,” VALLANCEY's Collect., vol. i., p. 540.

This Mac Raith seems to have succeeded Donnchadh as King of Cashel, or of Munster, when Donnchadh became King of Ireland, having been previously king, or chieftain, of the Eoghanacht-Chaisil, as he is styled by Tighernach and the Four Masters. But neither his title as King of Cashel, nor that of Donnchadh to the greater sovereignty, was universally admitted. And hence we find, that Tighernach (a contemporary historian, but a native of Connaught) calls Donnchadh King of Munster only, and Mac Raith, heir apparent (rí óamhna), not King, of Cashel. But in the inscription before us, the pretensions both of Mac Raith and of Donnchadh are asserted; and it appears that they were associated in the pious act of contributing to the expense of this box. Dr. O'CONOR thinks that both Mac Raith and Donnchadh, son of Brian, must have been living when the inscriptions were made, because we are asked to pray for them, not to pray for *their souls*: "for" (he says) "in all Irish inscriptions in memory of the deceased, we are desired to pray for their souls." It is more than probable that the conclusion is correct, although the argument adduced in support of that conclusion is certainly not true. We have innumerable instances of inscriptions on ancient tombstones, in which we are desired to pray for an individual by name, without any mention of his soul; and it is to be presumed that tombstones were not erected until after the decease of those whose names they bear. It is highly probable, however, from other considerations, that this box must have been made before the death of Mac Raith and Donnchadh, and during the plenitude of their power and prosperity; for it is not very likely, from their subsequent history, that so costly a relic would have borne mention of them with their regal titles, after their death.

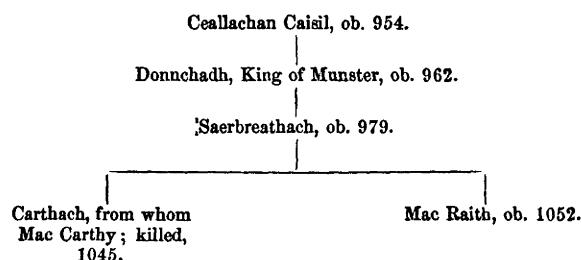
The death of Mac Raith is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach, A. D. 1052, in these words:—

Mac Raith hua Donncadha, rí Eoghanacht Chaisil, ríóamhna Mumhan, do ecc.

Mac Raith O'Donncadha, King of the Eoghanacht of Cashel, heir apparent King of Munster, died.

This was twelve years before the expulsion of Donnchadh, son of Brian Boroimhe; and it is, therefore, almost certain that the original box must have been made between the years 1023, when Donnchadh became King of Ireland, and 1052, when Mac Raith died.

The following is the descent of Mac Raith from Ceallachan Caisil, King of Munster,* who died A. D. 954:—



This explains why Mac Raidh is called Ua Donchadha, or grandson of Donchadh, in the inscription.

The fourth inscription, on the right-hand side of the square as it stands in Dr. O'CONOR's plate, but on the left hand, as it ought to be, is as follows:—

✚ OR DO DUNCHAD HU TACCAN
 DO MUINTIR CLUAIN DO RIGNI

“ A PRAYER FOR DUNCHADH O'TACCAN,
 OF THE FAMILY OF CLUAIN, WHO MADE IT.”

“The *family* of Cluain” signifies the monastic society of Clonmacnois. The words DO RIGNI on monuments of this kind always signify, “who made, or fabricated it;” and imply that the individual who in this sense “*made*” the reliquary, was the artist, or operative mechanic, who executed the work;† so that Dr. O'CONOR is probably correct when he says (Catal. App. No. I., p. 38) that Donnchadh O'Taccan, or O'Tagan, of the monastery of Cluain, “is stated on our cover to be *the artificer* who made it.”

Of this Donnchadh O'Tagan we know nothing except what we learn from this inscription, that he was of the *muintir* (family or religious society) of Clonmacnois; and that he was the artist by whom this ornamented and costly box was made for the preservation of the venerable MS. which it contains.

There remain two other inscriptions on this side of the cover, which have unfortunately been greatly mutilated, as already mentioned, and their full meaning is therefore irrecoverably lost. They occur on two silver plates, crossing each

* See the Genealogical Table in Dr. O'DONOVAN's “Battle of Magh Rath,” p. 340.

† See O'DONOVAN's “Irish Grammar,” p. 228.

other at right angles in the centre of the cover. A space which may have contained about ten letters in each line of the inscriptions has been rudely cut out, and the defect is the more to be lamented, as the last words would evidently have supplied the names of individuals who had taken a share in making or causing this box to be made. The first inscription is as follows:—

✠	OR DO	NAIN h
U	CAT	NÖERNDO

“A PRAYER FOR . . . NAIN O
CATH BY WHOM IT WAS MADE.”

Here we have the name of one of the persons who caused the box to be made; but we can only say with certainty that his Christian name ended with the syllable *nain*, *uain*, or *main* (for the first letter is not certainly *n*), and that his surname began with the syllable *O'Cat*. . . . Perhaps the name may have been Gillafinain O'Cathail (O'Cahill) or Gillafinain O'Cathasaigh (O'Casey); but the number of letters in the former name would better suit the vacant space, and the inscription might then be completed thus:—

OR DO GILLAFINAIN h
U CATAIL LAS ANDERNDO

“A PRAYER FOR GILLAFINAIN
O'CATHAIL, BY WHOM IT WAS MADE.”

This, however, is a mere conjecture, as there are many other Christian and family names that would answer the conditions, and I can find no mention of Gillafinain O'Cathail in our Annals. An Aenghus O'Cathail, “Lord of Eogh-anacht Locha Lein” (Killarney), was slain in 1033 (Annals of Tighernach, and Four Masters); so that the family in the eleventh century was one of rank and consideration, and there is no difficulty in supposing one of them to have been instrumental in getting such a box made.

Dr. O'CONOR partially restores this inscription thus:—

OR DO ANMAIN h
U CAT . . . LAS ANDERNDO

“PRAY FOR THE SOUL OF
O'CAT BY WHOM IT WAS MADE.”

But this supposes only two letters to have been lost in the first line, whilst it requires at least eight to fill an equal space vacant in the second. It is, therefore, inadmissible. It assumes also that the last syllable of the mutilated word in the first line is *man*, not *nan*, which is possible; but whether we read *m* or *n*, there can be no doubt that this word was the Christian name of the person mentioned. If we adopt the termination *man*, it is possible that *Mathghaman*, or *Mahon*, may have been the name, which would fit very well into the vacant space.

The other mutilated inscription is still more irrecoverable. It is probable, however, that in this there are not more than four or five letters lost in each line, because the vertical plate must have crossed it; and therefore the whole breadth of that plate is to be allowed for. All that now remains is as follows:—

✠	OC	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	AND
hu	τ	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	laig

“AND [FOR] . . . AND
O’T . . . LAIG.”

Here again it is evident that we have a name; and that the first half of the first line must have been *ocur do*. The Christian name of the person here mentioned must have ended with the syllable *an*, and his surname began with *hu τ*. . . (or *hu d*. . . as Dr. O’CONOR reads it), and ended with *laig*; but all beyond this is conjecture.

The following conjectural restoration is suggested, not as likely to be true, but for the purpose of showing what I presume to have been the nature of the inscription:—

✠	OCUS DO		FLAND
hu	τaich		laig

“AND FOR FLANN
O’TAICHLAIGH.”

The Four Masters record the death of *Mael-Cainnigh Ua Taichligh* [or *O’Tully*], A. D. 1049, which proves that there was such a family name at the

period to which this inscription belongs; or, if Dr. O'CONOR be correct in supposing the third letter of the second line to be *o*, the name may be *Ua Dubhlaig* [O'Dooley],—a family who were lords of *Feara-Tulagh* (*Fartullagh*), a barony in the county of *Westmeath*.* But it is not improbable that what now seems to be *l* may be the remains of an *n*, as the rude chisel of the mutilator has approached it very closely. If so, the name may be *Ua Tighernaigh*, or *O'Tighernaigh* [O'Tierney].

Dr. O'CONOR's proposed restoration, however, of the first line of this inscription is plainly untenable, although he speaks of it with great confidence. "If the last name," he says, "could be restored, no doubt can remain of its being in other respects perfect."† He proposes to read it thus:—

OCUS DO		ANMANO
hu o . . .		. . . laig

"AND FOR
O'D . .

THE SOUL OF
. . LAIG."

But *anman*, the soul, is never, I believe, written with the termination *ano*, or *ann*; and Dr. O'CONOR himself, in his restoration of the former inscription, writes the word *anman*. The *hu* is confessedly the family designation *hu*, or *O*, and was, therefore, in all probability preceded by the Christian name of the individual intended; for "O'Dooley," without a Christian name, would not be a sufficient designation of an individual.

We come now to the other side, or top of the box. It is divided into four compartments, the first of which contains a rude representation of the Crucifixion; the second has the Apostle St. John, holding his book; the third has the figure of the B. V. Mary; and the fourth contains a bishop in pontificalibus, in the full ecclesiastical dress of the fourteenth century. These figures have been so well and so fully described by Dr. O'CONOR, that nothing need be added to what he has said of them. The four compartments are surrounded by plates of silver, forming the sides of a square, as represented in Dr. O'CONOR's engraving already referred to, which gives an extremely good idea of the original.

* Four Masters, A. D. 1040, 1144, *et alibi*.

† Stowe Cat., Appendix I., p. 3.

These plates contain inscriptions in double columns, which I must now proceed to describe.

The inscriptions on the upper and lower plates are both mutilated, the last half of both having been torn away. These inscriptions are in double lines. What remains of the first is as follows:—

✠ OR DO p ¹ ub	Here is a small crystal.	This half of the
DO RIȝ URMU		plate is torn off.

which is evidently—

“ A PRAYER FOR PHILIP
FOR THE KING OF ORMOND”

And the inscription may be thus with great probability restored:—

✠ OR DO p ¹ ub		ua CINNEIȝ
DO RIȝ URMU		main las a c

“ A PRAYER FOR PHILIP O’KENNEDY,
FOR THE KING OF OR MOND, BY WHOM WAS C”

This inscription is continued down the right side of the square thus:—

umȝaȝeo IN MIN		ȝsa ȝ DO aINI ȝam
naI ✠ DOMNall o ȝo		laRI ȝOCORIȝ mIsI

The first word ought evidently to be cumȝaȝeo, covered; the initial c was probably given in the preceding plate, as I have represented it in my proposed restoration of the first inscription. The whole may be translated thus:—

“ [C]OVERED THIS ORNAMENT, AND FOR AINI HIS
WIFE, ✠ DOMNALL O’TOLARI DECORATED ME.”

Dr. O’CONOR has entirely failed to interpret these inscriptions. The first

of them he has omitted altogether, being in all probability unable to read the name ¹plub, in the first fragment. He renders the second inscription thus:—

“A JOINT OFFERING WAS THIS JEWEL, AND TO PRAISE WORTHY
LEARNED ✠ DONNALD O'TOLARI ADORNED ME.”

This does not seem very intelligible. The mark before the name of Domhnall O'Tolari might have shown him that a new subject was there commenced; but the absence of the initial c in the word *cumdaigeo* caused him to miss the meaning of the whole. The interpretation I have given is undoubtedly the true one; for Philip O'Kennedy, and Aine his wife, are historical personages, whose decease is thus recorded by the Four Masters, at the year 1381:—

Dlíib Ua Cínneibíḡ tigeapna Upmúian,
ḡ a bean Aine ingean meic conmapa do
écc.

Philip O'Kennedy, Lord of Ormond, and
his wife Aine, daughter of Mac Namara,
died.

Here, then, we have the date of the second covering or “decorating” of this box, just three hundred years later than the former cover, as indeed the characters in which the inscriptions now before us are engraved plainly indicate. It was “decorated” by Domhnall O'Tolari (who was probably guilty of the barbarous mutilation of the ancient inscriptions) during the lifetime of Philip O'Kennedy and his wife, Aine Ny Mac Namara, in the middle of the fourteenth century. Of this artist nothing is known.

The words, “Domhnall O'Tolari decorated me,” represent the box as addressing the reader, according to the usual style of such inscriptions. The name O'Tolari, however, does not occur in our records. Dr. O'CONOR, in the lower margin of his engraving, interprets it *O'Tolar*, omitting the final *i*; but this is also a name which is not known to us, and I am, therefore, inclined to think that the final *i* in the inscription, as Dr. O'CONOR's engraving represents it, ought to be *c* or *g*, and that the name is O'Tolarc, or O'Tolarg. Nevertheless, the drawing that I made of this inscription when I had it before me, gives the word beyond all doubt *Tolapí*; so that the mistake, if it be one, was a mistake of the original engraver.

The third inscription on the lower plate is unintelligible, as the greater part of it has been lost; and what adds to the difficulty is, that it contains a character,

or combination of characters, the meaning of which is unknown. The following is a fac-simile of the fragment which now remains of this inscription:—



The first word is plainly $\text{O}\rho\iota\tau$, a prayer; but I can make no satisfactory guess as to the meaning of the remaining words; nor can I explain the contraction which follows $\overline{\text{OR}}$. The remainder of this inscription is possibly $[\text{gill}]apuaem$, the same as gillapuadan , which occurs in the next, or fourth inscription, on the left-hand side of the square, as follows:—

$\overline{\text{OR}}$ DO gillaru DON COMARBA LA	Crys- tal.	adAN UMACAN SAR CUMDAIGED
--	---------------	---------------------------------------

“A PRAYER FOR GILLA-
THE COMHARB, BY WHOM

RUADAN O'MACAN,
THIS WAS COVERED.”

i. e. by whose instrumentality, or at whose expense, the cover was made. I have not been able to ascertain who this Gillaruadan O'Macan was; but his name, Gilla Ruadhan, or servant of St. Ruadhan, connects him with Lower Ormond; and it is therefore highly probable that he was comharb or successor of St. Ruadhan of Lothra, or Lorha, in Lower Ormond, that is to say, abbot of that monastery, which was the principal church of O'Kennedy's country.

It is certain, however, from these inscriptions, that the MS. for which this precious shrine was made, belonged to some church of Munster,—for the older inscriptions represent it as having been enshrined by Donnchadh, son of Brian Borumha, and by Mac Raith O'Donnchadha, the great grandson of Callachan Caisil, both of them Kings of Cashel, or of Munster; and the later inscriptions connect it with O'Kennedy's country, or Lower Ormond, and in all probability with the Irish monastery of Lothra, or Lorha. I say, with the Irish monastery, of which St. Ruadhan was the founder, because there was at that time also an

English monastery at Lothra, founded by Walter de Burgh, in 1269. Gilla-ruadhan O'Macan, from his Irish name, as well as from his title of Comharba, must have belonged to the old Irish monastery.

It is, therefore, by no means impossible that the MS. contained in this box may have been the original Missal of St. Ruadhan himself, the founder of the monastery of Lothra, who died A. D. 584. The valuable ancient catalogue of the Irish saints,* which divides them into three orders, the author of which cannot be later than the seventh century, tells us that the first order of saints (from St. Patrick to the reign of Tuathal Maelgarbh, who died A. D. 544) had all the same mass, the same celebration, and the same tonsure, from ear to ear:—"Unam missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem;" but that the second order of saints (who flourished from the end of Tuathal's reign to that of Aedh Mac Ainmirech, who was killed in 599) had different masses and different rules:—"Diversas missas celebrabant, et diversas regulas, unum Pascha, quartadecima luna post æquinodium, unam tonsuram ab aure ad aurem."

St. Ruadhan of Lothra belonged to the second class of saints, who had different missals and different monastic rules, although they kept up the quaterdeciman Easter, and the old Irish tonsure from ear to ear. That is to say, they did not confine themselves to one form of celebration, but adopted freely the forms, or missals, which they found elsewhere on the continent of Europe; and it is probable that the MS. we are now to speak of was one of these different missals.

It exhibits internal evidence of having undergone the same sort of mutilation as the case in which it is now contained. The original MS. was written in an ancient Lombardic† character, which may well be deemed older than the sixth century. But several leaves of this ancient book have been evidently cancelled, and their places supplied by matter in an Irish hand of the tenth or eleventh century. This is a circumstance of great importance, which has nevertheless been entirely unnoticed by Dr. O'CONOR.

* First published by USSHER (Works, vol. vi. pp. 477-479.), and afterwards by FLEMING (Collectan. Sacra, p. 430) from a different copy.

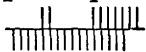
† It should be borne in mind, that the characters styled Lombardic are in reality older than the Lombardic invasion of Italy in the seventh century; being the style of writing which the Lombards found in use, and which they adopted when they learned letters from those whom they vanquished.

The remarks I have to make on this most interesting MS. are necessarily very imperfect, being almost entirely the result of recollection. Lord ASHBURNHAM did not permit me to transcribe anything, and I was, therefore, forced to content myself with a careful perusal of the MS., comparing it as I read with Dr. O'CONOR's description of it.

The book contains, first, the Gospel of St. John; and, secondly, the Missal, or rather *Sacramentarium* (for it includes the rites of baptism); written in different hands, and at different periods.

Dr. O'CONOR has given a fac-simile of the first two pages of the Gospel of St. John,—the first page representing the emblem or figure of the Evangelist, holding his book, with the symbolical eagle over his head; the second containing the beginning of the first chapter of St. John. This portion of the MS. (if I mistake not) is in a handwriting not later than the seventh century.

At the end of the Gospel of St. John are these words:—

“Deo gratias ago, Amen. Finit, Amen. Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris, ut memineris mei peccatoris scriptoris, .i.  peregrinus. Amen. Sanus sit qui scripserit et cui scriptum est, Amen.”

This gives us the name of the writer, “SONID PEREGRINUS,” or “SONID the pilgrim;” for the word in Ogham characters is *Sonid*, if read directly as it stands; but inscriptions of this kind, and especially names, were often written backwards; and the name before us, if so read, will be *Dinos*; but I can find no mention of *Sonid* or *Dinos* the pilgrim in any of our records. The “*Sanus sit*” of the last line seems to favour the former reading.

The Missal, as I have already said, is in two different hands. It seems to have been originally written in what I have called the Lombardic character, and afterwards altered, to adapt it to a different Ordo, or form of Liturgy, by a more recent hand. Dr. O'CONOR has given a fac-simile of a page of this MS., in which may be seen the difference of the two hands; the text of the MS. being in the older or Lombardic hand, and the rubric at the top of the page in the more recent characters.

Dr. O'CONOR remarks that the improvements made in the Roman Missal since the days of Beruo, who died about A. D. 1047,—improvements which

were adopted in Ireland at the Synod of Kells, A.D. 1152,*—are wanting in this Missal, and therefore it must be considered as the Missal which was in use in Ireland before that time. But it needs not this consideration to prove the antiquity of the MS. The characters alone are sufficient evidence to a practised eye. The older writing is certainly not later than the sixth century; and the more recent hand is probably of the tenth.

The MS. exhibits evidence of the fact that, at the period of this more recent hand, alterations were made in the Missal, and the older writing mutilated for the purpose of introducing these alterations. In one place a page and a half of the ancient book has been erased, and prayers in the more recent hand written over it, in the manner of a palimpsest. In this more recent hand are written the titles or rubrics prefixed to the prayers, as also the rubrics in the Irish language, mentioned by Dr. O'CONOR in page 47 of his account of this MS. The object of these alterations plainly was to bring the older form of Divine Service into conformity with the office then in use, or which the mutilator had some reasons for preferring; as if the possessor of a copy of the ancient Sarum Missal of the Church of England should have sought to bring it into conformity with the present Roman Missal by erasures, alterations, and insertions, in all the places where they are found to differ.

I may observe that what Dr. O'CONOR has said (p. 41) of accents, which he supposes to be musical notes, is a mistake. There is nothing of the kind in the MS.

At page 71 of the MS., at the end of the Canon of the Mass, we have, in the more recent hand—

Maol caich pcpiprte.

This gives us the information that the more recent additions made to the MS. are in the handwriting of *Maolcaich*; but I can find no mention of this personage in any of our records. The name, however, is Irish, and belongs to an early period of our history, when the names of Paganism were still retained. There was a Maelcaich, son of Aedh Bennan, King of West Munster, who may have lived to about the year 700, but he could not have been the scribe of our MS., who was probably a century, or perhaps two, later.

* Berno was abbot of Reichenau, and wrote a treatise on the Mass, which has been frequently printed. It may be seen in the "Bibliotheca Patrum" (Lugd. 1677), vol. xviii. fol. 56.

The Office of the Mass, in this MS., begins with the Litanies, which are preceded by the antiphon *Peccavimus*; over this Maolcaich has inserted the rubric—

“Letania apostolorum ac martirum sanctorum virorum et virginum incipit. Deus in adjutorium nostrum intende.”

I have not retained here the contractions of the original, which may be seen in Dr. O’CONOR’s fac-simile plate of the page in which this rubric occurs.

Dr. O’CONOR’s account of the order of the prayers in this Missal is, on the whole, very correct, and I shall, therefore, briefly repeat what he has said, adding only such observations as my examination of the MS. has suggested.

After the Litanies, which, for the reason already given, I could not transcribe, we have in this Missal (I quote Dr. O’CONOR’s words*) “the hymn *Gloria*, without any allusion to the *Confiteor*, the commencement of the Roman Mass ever since the ninth century; neither does the *Pax vobis*, or the *Dominus vobiscum*, which are frequently repeated in the Roman, occur anywhere in the Irish, although in the Roman they are certainly as old as the tenth century. In the Roman the Collect follows the *Gloria*, and consisted always of one prayer,” [?] “as at present. In the Irish it consists of several prayers for the priests, the people, the Universal Church, the peace and prosperity of princes and kingdoms, for the distributor” [givers] “of alms, &c.”†

This last circumstance is interesting; for Dr. O’CONOR has shown that at a Synod held at Matiscon, A. D. 623 [not 620, as he has it], to consider certain objections brought by one Agrestius against the rule of St. Columbanus, this peculiarity of the Irish Missal is noticed. It appears that the monks who followed the rule of St. Columbanus at that time on the continent of Europe observed in every respect the rites and customs of the Irish Church, and even the tonsure from ear to ear, which was peculiar to Ireland and Scotland.

MABILLON, in his “Annals of the Benedictine Order” (vol. i., p. 320), gives a full account of this controversy, and mentions, amongst other objections urged by Agrestius, the following:—“In summa quod a cæterorum ritu ac normalesciscerent, et sacra missarum solemnia orationum et collectarum multiplici varietate celebrarent.” The answer of Eustasius, who appears to have been

* Stowe Catal., Append. No. I., p. 43.

† See the Office for Easter Eve in the Bobio Missal (*Museum Ital.*, tom i. part ii. p. 320).

the abbot of the Columban Monastery of Luxovium, or Lisieux (he calls himself “ejus [Columbani] discipulus et successor”), admits the fact, and defends it thus:—“Orationum porro multiplicationem in sacris officiis multum prodesse quis neget? Cum et orationi sine intermissione vacari nobis ex divino præcepto incumbat, et quo plus Dominus quæritur, plus inveniatur, nihilque cuivis Christiano ei maxime pœnitentibus salubrius sit, quam Deum multiplicatione precum et orationum assiduitate pulsare.”

Dr. O’CONOR quotes a passage from the Rule of St. Columbanus, which describes this multiplicity of prayers, in exact conformity with the Stowe Missal; although, on examining the context, it would seem that the Rule was speaking of the versicles interposed between the Psalms of the Daily Office, not of the Collects in the Mass.* Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that this Missal represents one of the ancient liturgical offices in use in the Irish Church, by the second “Ordo” of Irish saints.

To give an idea of these Collects, I may add to what Dr. O’CONOR has said, that one of them is entitled, “*Oratio prima Petri*,” beginning, “Deus qui culpa;”† then follows a lesson from 1 Cor. [xi.], beginning—“Fratres quotiescunque manducabitis;” then “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui populum tuum,” &c.

“R. Quærite Dominum, et confirmamini. Fortitudo mea, et laudatio mea usque in salutem.

“Sacrificio præsentibus Domine quæsumus intende placatus, ut devotionis nostræ proficiant ad salutem.

* The words are:—“Per diurnas terni Psalmi horas pro operum interpositione statuti sunt a senioribus nostris cum versiculorum augmento intervenientium pro peccatis primum nostris, deinde pro omni populo Christiano, deinde pro Sacerdotibus, et reliquis Deo consecratis sacræ plebis gradibus, postremo pro eleemosynas facientibus, postea pro pace regum, novissime pro inimicis, ne illis Deus statuât in peccatum quod persequuntur et detrahunt nobis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.”—*Reg. S. Columbani*, cap. 7 (FLEMING, *Collectan. Sacr.*, p. 6). Specimens of the Collects here alluded to may be seen in the Antiphonary of Bangor, published by MURATORI, “Opere,” tom. xi. part iii. p. 217, seq. (Arezzo, 1770), and also in the “Liber Hymnorum,” preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, a MS. probably of the tenth century.

† This prayer occurs in what is called “Missa Cotidiana Romensis” [i. e. ex Ordine Romano seu Gregoriano,” as MABILLON explains it] at the end of the “Missale Gothicum” (MABILLON, *Lit. Gallican.*, p. 300); also in the “Missa Romensis Cotidiana,” in the Bobio Missal (Mus. Ital., tom. i. part ii. p. 279).—It is as follows:—“Deus qui culpa offenderis, pœnitentia placaris, afflictorum gemitus respice, et mala quæ juste inrogas misericorditer averte. Per.”

"*Deprecatio S. Martini pro populo incipit. Amen. Deo gracias. Dicamus omnes Domine exaudi et miserere.*"

We find nothing corresponding to our present Epistles and Gospels, but only the lesson from 1 Cor. already mentioned, and another from St. John, vi., both which bear directly on the institution of the Eucharist.

The lesson from St. John, vi. is introduced, p. 14 of the MS., with this rubric (in the more modern hand)—

lethoipech puno
 dirigatur domine usq; vespertinum.
 tunc canitur. hic elevatur
 linteamen de calice ueni dñe
 sanctificator omnipo. et
 benedic hoc sacrificium præpa-
 ratum tibi, amen. tunc canitur
 lc. evangelii sec. iohannem
 dns. n. i. x. dixit ego sum panis et
 oratio gg s̃r evangel. quesumus
 dñe omnipotens, &c.

In page 20 we have the following Irish rubric (in the later hand):—

lanoipech puno.

These rubrics Dr. O'CONOR passes over without notice, and, therefore, it will be necessary to make some remarks on them. The words lethoipech puno, in the first, and lanoipech puno, in the second, are in the Irish language, and signify "a half uncovering here," and "a full uncovering here," intimating that the chalice was half uncovered before, and fully uncovered after the reading of the Gospel from St. John, vi.

Mr. CURRY has given me the following extract from a curious tract, an explanation of the ceremonies of the Mass, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, which throws some light upon this, and fully establishes the signification of the word oipech in the foregoing Irish rubrics. It is as follows :—

In ʒi noðtað co leir in choilg oiprið ʒ ina habloinne, ʒ i cantar occu ior porcel ʒ alleoir, Fighir pecta liri in po tephchanab Orit co pollur, aðt na facur he cain co ngenir. Comgabail in choilg oiprið ʒ na meir ior na landirgub i canar in ferra .i. immola deo pacificum laudir, &c.

The two uncoverings, including the half of the chalice of the Offertory, and of the Oblation, and what is chanted with them, both in the Gospel and *alleoir*,* figure the written law, in which Christ was manifestly foretold, but was not seen until his birth. The elevation of the chalice of the Offertory and the paten, after the full uncovering, at which is sung the verse *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis*, &c.†

Here it will be observed, that the word translated “full uncovering” in the concluding clause is *landirgub*, the very same word, allowing for the orthography of a later age, as the *landirpech* of the Stowe Missal; and it is explained by the synonymous *noðtað*, uncovering, or baring, at the beginning of the extract.

“*Dirigatur domine usque vespertinum.*”—These words are from Ps. cxl. 2 (Vulg.), and are still used in the Roman Missal, where the priest *incenses* the altar:—“*Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo: elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.*”

“*Tunc canitur.*”—Anticipating, perhaps, the *Tunc canitur locus evangelii*, &c., which occurs lower down.

“*Hic elevatur linteamen de calice.*”—“The linen cloth (or vest) is here to be raised from the chalice.”

“*Veni domine sanctificator omnipotens, et benedic hoc sacrificium præparatum tibi. Amen.*”—The present Roman Missal has this prayer immediately after the oblation:—“*Veni sanctificator omnipotens æterne Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini præparatum.*” But the old Hereford use of the Church of England employs the prayer in the oblation of the chalice, in the following form:—“*Veni sanctificator omnipotens et Domine Deus. Benedic et sanctifica hoc sacrificium quod tibi est præparatum.*”

The next words may be thus given in full:—

“*Tunc canitur locus evangelii secundum Johannem, Dominus noster Jesus Christus dixit, Ego sum panis et,*” &c. “*Oratio Gregorii super evangelium: Quæsumus Domine omnipotens,*” &c.

* This word seems corrupt; it is either *Alleluia*, or *Gloria*; perhaps a confusion of both together.

† “*Leabhar Breac*,” fol. 126 a.

I know not what this "Oratio S. Gregorii" may be, unless it be the following, which occurs among the "Orationes quotidianæ" at the end of St. Gregory's "Liber Sacramentorum:"*—

"Quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ne nos tua misericordia derelinquat, quæ et errores nostros semper amoveat, et noxia cuncta depellat. Per."

Another remarkable fact noticed by Dr. O'CONOR is this, that the Stowe Missal omits the celebrated addition of *filioque* in the Creed. This is not a proof of heterodoxy, but only of antiquity; for that addition, as is well known, did not become general in the West until after the time of Pope Leo III.,—the beginning of the ninth century. This is about the date of the later handwriting, in which the additions and alterations inserted in this MS. have been made throughout; and accordingly we find that *filioque* has been interlined in the more recent hand. Dr. O'CONOR, in his Plate, has given a fac-simile of this passage of the Creed, by which it appears that the reading of the original MS. was as follows:—

"Cujus regni non erit finis. Et in spiritum sanctum, dominum et vivificantem, ex patre procedentem, cum patre et filio coadorandum, et conglorificandum."

And that the more recent hand had altered the clause following the word *vivificantem*, thus:—

"qui ex patre filioque procedit, qui cum patre et filio simul coadoratur, et conglorificatur;"

—an alteration which brings it to the reading which has gradually gained ground in the Western Church since the ninth century.

It is satisfactory to find that the date which we must assign to the interlineations and alterations made in the original MS., judging merely by the character of the handwriting, is so fully confirmed by independent historical facts.

Here, however, it is necessary to make some remarks on the comparison which Dr. O'CONOR has suggested between the Stowe Missal and the Sacramentary of Bobio, published by the learned Benedictines, MABILLON and GERMAIN, in their "Museum Italicum."†

"It is very remarkable" (says Dr. O'CONOR) "that neither in the Bobio

* Opp. (Ed. Bened.), tom. iii. part i. col. 197. But there are several other Collects in St. Gregory's Sacramentary which begin with the words,—"*Quæsumus omnipotens Deus*," as the Collect for Third Sunday in Lent; for Passion Sunday; and see also *loc. cit.*, col. 193, 195.

† Museum Italicum, tom. i. part ii. p. 273, seq.

MS., nor in the Stowe Missal (both Irish) is the celebrated addition *filioque* to be found in the Creed.”*

And again:—

“We shall only briefly remark that, in the Irish [Missal], the descent of our Saviour into hell is not in the Creed; neither is it in the Irish Missal discovered by Muratori at Bobio, though it is expressly mentioned in the Nicene and Constantinopolitan.”

This last statement is a singular tissue of blunders, arising apparently from carelessness, for Dr. O’CONOR could not have been ignorant that the article of the descent into hell does not occur in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed.† But this is not his only error, for this clause does occur in the Creed of the Bobio Missal, as quoted by himself in another work.‡ In fact, the very reverse of the foregoing statement is true; the descent into hell is in the Bobio Missal, although it is not expressly mentioned in the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds; and, therefore, does not occur in the Stowe Missal for that very reason, because the Creed there given is, in substance, the Nicene Creed, whereas that of the Bobio MS. is founded rather upon the Apostles’ Creed.

A more important fact, which Dr. O’CONOR has omitted to notice, is, that in the Stowe Missal the Creed is recited as a part of the Mass, whereas in the Bobio MS. it does not so occur, as MABILLON has remarked:—“Nulla hic” (he says) “mentio de Symbolo C. P. occurrit, quod fortasse tum in Missa Gallicana haud recitaretur.”|| The Creed, which is of course the Baptismal Creed, occurs in a special service (used on Palm Sunday in the Gallican Church), which in the Bobio Sacramentary is called *Ad aurium apertionem*,** and in the “Missale Gallicanum Vetus,” published by MABILLON in another work,†† “*Expositio vel traditio Symboli*.”

* Append. No. I. p. 45.

† Another evidence of the carelessness with which the above paragraph was written is, that Dr. O’CONOR attributes the discovery of the Bobio MS. to MURATORI, instead of to MABILLON.

‡ *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. i., *Epist. Nunc.*, p. cxxxvii.

|| *Mus. Ital.*, ubi supra, p. 282.

** *Ibid.* p. 310 seq.

†† “*De Liturgia Gallicana*,” lib. iii. p. 339. Isidorus Hispalensis tells us that this ceremony took place on Palm Sunday:—“Hoc die (he says) *Symbolum competentibus traditum propter confinem Dominicæ Paschæ sollemnitatem: ut quia jam ad Dei gratiam percipiendam festinant, fidem quam confiteantur agnoscant.*”—*De Off. Eccles.*, cap. xxvii. And the custom is enjoined by

The fact that the Creed forms a part of the Office of the Mass in the Stowe Missal is no argument against the high antiquity I have assigned to that MS. For, although the Constantinopolitan Creed was not publicly sung at Rome until the time of Leo III.,* and did not become fully established in the Mass until the eleventh century, it is admitted by all that it was used in other Churches. The third Council of Toledo, A. D. 589, enjoined:—"Ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ, vel Gallæciæ, secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum Concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est CL episcoporum, symbolum fidei recitetur; ut priusquam Dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara a populo decan-

the Synod of Agde, in Languedoc, held A. D. 506, Can. 13:—"Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, i. e. ante octo dies Dominicæ resurrectionis, publice in ecclesia competentibus tradi." The *competentes* were the catechumens who were deemed admissible to baptism, and therefore, the Creed used was of course the Baptismal Creed.

* This is not the place to discuss the question of the introduction of the Constantinopolitan Creed into the Roman Liturgy. But it is evident from the words of Berno, Abbot of Reichenau, that the custom had not fully established itself in his time, i. e. about A. D. 1014; for he tells us that he himself was present when the Roman presbyters, being asked why they did not chaunt the Creed, answered, that the Roman Church, having never been infected with heresy, had not the same need to chaunt the Creed frequently as other Churches: "At Dominus Imperator" (he adds, i. e. Henry II.) "non ante desiit, quam omnium consensu id Domino Benedicto Apostolico" [i. e. Benedict VIII.] "persuasit, ut ad publicam Missam illud [sc. symbolum] decantarent; sed utrum hanc consuetudinem servent adhuc, affirmare non possumus, quia certum non tenemus."—*De rebus ad Missam pertinentibus*, cap. 2. (*Biblioth. Patr.* Lugd. tom. xviii., p. 58 A.) MARTENE explains this by saying that BERNO is only speaking of the Creed being *chaunted*, and that it does not follow that it was not *said* or *read* before that time (*De S. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. i. c. 4, art. 5, n. 11); and he refers to the conference between Leo III. and the messengers of Charlemagne, relative to the introduction of *filioque* into the Creed, A. D. 809, by which it appears that the same question was at that time agitated, and the same distinction between reading and chaunting alluded to; the custom of the Roman Church being to read, and not to chaunt the Creed. For, the messengers having asked whether the Pope had not himself given leave to have the Creed chaunted at Rome, and so adopted the usage of other Churches, Leo answers:—"Ego licentiam dedi cantandi; non autem cantando quidpiam addendi, minuendi seu mutandi;" and shortly afterwards, "quod vero asseritis, ideo vos ita cantare, quoniam alios in istis partibus vobis priores audistis cantasse, quid ad nos? Nos enim id ipsum non cantamus sed legimus: et legendo docere, nec tamen legendo aut docendo addere quidpiam eidem symbolo inserendo præsumimus."—*Collatio Romæ habita*, ap. Hardouin, Concil., tom. iv., col. 973. But if the question was merely between reading and chaunting, the answer of the Roman Presbyters, reported by BERNO, that the Roman Church was never infected with heresy, loses its point.

tetur.”* So that this Creed may very well be found in a liturgy of even much earlier date.

In the Antiphonary of Bangor, published by MURATORI† from a MS. in the Milan Library, which is undoubtedly Irish, there occurs a Creed very similar to that found in the Gallican Sacramentaries, and which, as it is founded on the Baptismal Creed, was probably used in the same way for the instruction of catechumens, not recited or chaunted in the Mass.

It remains to observe, that I cannot subscribe to Dr. O’CONOR’s opinion that the Sacramentarium of Bobio, published by MABILLON, was an Irish MS. The specimen of its characters which MABILLON has given,‡ and which Dr. O’CONOR has very incorrectly copied (Epist. Nunc., p. cxxx., Plate I., No. 1), is enough to convince every one competent to give an opinion, notwithstanding Dr. O’CONOR’s assertion to the contrary, that the writing does not belong to the Scotie or Irish school; and the entire absence of any allusion to the name of an Irish saint ought at once to decide the question. Compare it in this respect with the Stowe Missal and the Antiphonary of Bangor, both of which exhibit, beyond the possibility of doubt, their Irish origin. It contains a “Missa S. Sigismundi regis,” i. e. St. Sigismund, King of the Burgundians (ob. 515), which could scarcely be found in an Irish Missal, but most clearly indicates a Gallican ritual; nor does any allusion occur in it to Bobio, Columbanus, or anything that could even indirectly connect it with Ireland,§ except that in the “Judicius penitentialis,” with which the volume concludes, the 28th canon seems to have been taken from the *Mensura penitentialium* of the Irish St. Cummian. But as this work was well known on the Continent of Europe, such a coincidence is a slender foundation for the conclusion that the whole Missal is Irish. The two passages are as follows:—

* Hardouin, Concil., tom. iii., p. 479. This must mean, not that the custom of reciting the Creed was adopted from the Eastern Churches, as MABILLON strangely understands it (*Comment. in Ord. Rom. in Mus. Ital.*, II., p. xlii.), but that the Creed to be so recited was the form adopted by the Eastern Churches at the Council of Constantinople of 150 Bishops; in other words, the Constantinopolitan Creed.

† Opere (*Arezzo*, 1770), tom. xi., part iii., pp. 217–251.

‡ Museum Ital., vol. i., part ii., p. 276.

§ See MABILLON’s remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 276.

THE BOBIO MS.

“xxviii. Si quis clericus postquam se Deo voverit, iterum ad seculum reversus fuerit, vel uxorem duxerit duodecim annos pœniteat, sex in pane et aqua, et numquam in conjugio copuletur. Quod si noluerint, sancta sedes apostolica separavit eos a communione sanctorum. Similiter et mulier postquam se Deo vovit, et tale scelus admiserit, similiter faciat.”*

S. CUMMIAN.

“Si clericus aut monachus postquam se Deo voverit, ad sæcularem habitum iterum reversus fuerit, aut uxorem duxerit, decem annis pœniteat, tribus ex his in pane et aqua, et nunquam postea in conjugio copuletur: quod si noluerit, sancta synodus, vel sedes apostolica separavit eos a communione et convocationibus Catholicorum. Similiter et mulier, postquam secundo voverit, si tale scelus admiserit, pari sententiæ subiacebit.”†

On the strength of this coincidence Dr. O’CONOR builds the following argument for the Irish origin of the Missal of Bobio:—

“Denique, Missale hoc *Portatile* S. Columbani Discipulis deberi, patet ex Pœnitentiale Hibernico ad ejus calcem appposito, in quo *ipsa verba* Pœnitentialium *Cumeani* et *Columbani* occurrunt, ut Mabillonius ipse fatetur.”‡

Nothing can be more unfair than this statement. Assuming this Missal to have been *portatile* (which does not appear), that fact is nothing to the purpose. For although Dr. O’CONOR shows, what is well known, that the Irish ecclesiastics, after the Danish invasions in the ninth century, were driven to take refuge on the Continent of Europe,§ and carried with them portable Missals, it does not follow that every portable Missal must be Irish, or every Irish Missal portable.

Again, he calls the Pœnitentiale, at the end of the Bobio MS., “Pœnitentiale Hibernicum,” which is an argument in a circle, as there is no reason to suppose it Irish except the passage which he quotes to prove it so.

He tells us also that the very words *ipsa verba*, not of Cummiian only, but of Columbanus also, are adopted in the Bobio MS.:—“*Ipsa verba Pœnitentialium Cumiani et Columbani*,” giving his readers to understand that there were two Penitentials,—one of Cummiian and one of Columbanus,—and that both were quoted, even to their *ipsa verba*, in the Penitential of the Bobio MS. But although it was certainly very important to Dr. O’CONOR’S conclu-

* Museum Ital. *ut supra*, p. 393. MURATORI, Liturg. Rom. Vet., tom. ii. p. 964.

† FLEMING, Collect. Sacr., p. 200.

‡ Rer. Hib. Scriptt., tom. i. Epist. Nunc., p. cxxxviii. § *Loc. cit.*, p. cxxxi

sion that Columbanus should be quoted, or in some way referred to in this MS., it unfortunately happens that no such document as the Pœnitentiale of Columbanus is known to have existed, unless his *Regula Cœnobialis** be intended; nor is there anything to prove whether the Pœnitentiale of Bobio has quoted the *ipsa verba* of Cumman, or Cumman the *ipsa verba* of the Bobio MS.; or, finally, whether both may not have copied from some common source, which is the most probable supposition, when we see, from the foregoing comparison of the two passages, that the *ipsa verba* have not in fact been quoted.†

But Dr. O'CONOR tells us that MABILLON himself confesses:—"Mabillonius ipse fatetur,"—and to prove this he cites in a note the following words of MABILLON: I give them exactly with the break in the middle, as Dr. O'CONOR has printed them:—

"In fine etiam, quod rarissimum est, et pœne singulare, habetur *Liber Pœnitentialis*, in quo multa scitu digna occurrunt quæ, *iisdem fere verbis*, reperies in Pœnitentiali *Cummiani*, editionis Lovaniensis anni 1667."—MABILLON, *Musæi Ital.*, tom. i., p. 276 et 393.

What would a reader suppose from this citation to have been the statement of MABILLON? Certainly, that "multa scitu digna" are to be found "*iisdem fere verbis*" in the Pœnitentiale of Cumman. Yet MABILLON says nothing of the sort. There are here two sentences separated by dots. In the first, which occurs in his prefatory remarks, p. 276, MABILLON tells us that at the end of the Missal there is a *Liber Pœnitentialis* (a thing of very rare occurrence), in which are many things well worth knowing—"multa scitu digna." The other passage occurs in a note on page 393, after an interval of 117 pages. It is not likely that after so much intervening matter the two passages could have been intended as one. What MABILLON says in p. 393 is this:—"Hæc" [not *quæ*] *iisdem fere verbis* reperies," meaning by *hæc*, the words of Can. 28, which have

* FLEMING, *Collect. Sacra*, p. 19. It is entitled, "*Regulæ cœnobialis fratrum, sive Liber de quotidianis pœnitentiis monachorum.*"

† The extract above given from St. Cumman contains an enactment much less severe than that of the Bobio Penitentiary; and there are other additions which render it more probable that Cumman quoted from the Bobio MS., or from some common authority, than that the Bobio MS. copied from S. Cumman. If this be so, and if we assume that Cumman's Penitentiary is an Irish authority, it will prove that the Irish author borrowed from the Gallican, and not the Gallican from the Irish.

been given above in juxtaposition with the corresponding words of St. Cummian. And this is the most cogent argument employed by Dr. O'CONOR to prove the Irish origin of the Bobio Missal!

But he has also another argument. He tells us that the Missal was written at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century,—the very time in which Columbanus wrote his fourth Epistle to Boniface, and that there is a passage in that Epistle agreeing verbally with one in the Missal, and alluding to the wars that desolated Italy at the time. I give these passages in parallel columns:—

COLUMBANUS.

“Mundus jam declinat” [here a column and a half of Fleming's page are omitted by Dr. O'CONOR without notice] “Dominus appropinquat, et prope jam in fine consistimus inter tempora periculosa. Ecce conturbantur gentes, inclinantur regna; ideo cito dabit vocem suam Altissimus et movebitur terra.”*

THE BOBIO MISSAL.

“Oremus Dominum, dilectissimi nobis, quia amara nobis adveniunt tempora, et periculosi adproximant anni. Mutantur regna, vocantur gentes: excidit caritas, exsurgit iniquitas: increvit cupiditas: prævaluit impietas.”†

These are passages which exhibit no verbal agreement; they may have been written by two different authors living at the same period, with reference to the same events; but they do not prove that either author had seen the other; and, therefore, in fact, prove nothing to Dr. O'CONOR's purpose.

On the whole, I conclude that there is not the slightest reason to question the decision of MABILLON, in which MURATORI concurs: “Ordo missæ quem subjicimus, haud dubie pertinet ad Liturgiam Gallicanam.”‡

It has already been remarked that the Stowe Missal contains no selection of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and festivals of the year. This is not surprising, as it was a *Missale portatile*, or *Sacramentarium*; and the festal or Dominican Epistles and Gospels, if they then existed, may have been contained in a different book. But Dr. O'CONOR, in noting this fact, makes the following remark:—

“Neither does St. Columbanus's Missal, which was discovered in the monas-

* FLEMING, Collect. Sacr., p. 140.

† Mus. Ital., loc. cit., p. 371.

‡ Mus. Ital., loc. cit., p. 273. MURATORI, Liturg. Vet. Rom., tom. ii.

tery of Bobio, a thousand years after his death, and is now in the Ambrosian Library, contain the selections for the Sundays of the year.”*

It is marvellous that such a statement could be made by any one who had seen MABILLON’S edition of the Bobio Missal, which contains Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays and festivals. I say nothing of the assumption that this is “St. Columbanus’s Missal,” for which, as we have seen, there is not the smallest evidence; or of the assertion that it is now in the Ambrosian Library, which was, perhaps, a slip of the memory, occasioned by confounding this MS. with the *Antiphonarium Benchorensis*, published by MURATORI.

We must now return to Dr. O’CONOR’S description of this MS.

He remarks correctly that in enumerating the orders of the hierarchy, three only are mentioned in this Missal, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons,—“a proof,” he says, “that it was written before the order of subdeacons was added in the twelfth century.”†

He tells us also that the ceremony of mixing water with the Eucharistic wine is wholly omitted, as well as the prayers which now follow the Offertory in the Roman Missal, the *Lavabo*, and the prayer, *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas*.

The festivals commemorated are the following:—(1.) “*Natale Domini*” (Christmas-Day). (2.) “*Kl.*” (i. e. Circumcisio Domini,—the 1st of January). (3.) “*Stellæ*” (the Epiphany). (4.) “*Dies natalis calicis Domini nostri*” (i. e. the first day of Lent). (5.) “*Pasca*” (Easter). (6.) “*Clausula pascæ*” (Low Sunday). (7.) “*Ascensio*” (Ascension Day); and (8.) “*Pentacoste*” (sic). “For these festivals,” Dr. O’CONOR says, “there is but one common preface; nor is there any distinction save the inserting in that preface the name of each festival as it occurs in the calendar.”

“This part of the Service (as Dr. O’CONOR goes on to notice) is in this Missal twice interrupted by rubrics in the Irish language, written in the more modern hand, but without any interval between the words, thus:—

irunototetotignūintopmaignomaiopperquembeirnaduototichall,

which Dr. O’CONOR translates:—

“Here the *Dignum* is to be chaunted, if the [words] *per quem* follow the last [word] above [mentioned].”

* Stowe Cat., App. No. I., p. 45.

† Stowe Catal., vol. i., App. No. I., p. 44.

Another similar rubric is as follows (correcting the typographical mistakes in Dr. O'CONOR's copy of it):—

ipuno totetotoginūntopmuginomaiopēbepinaduibioichall,

which he translates:—

“Here the *Dignum* is to be chaunted, if the *Sanctus* follows the [words] above.”

But these translations are quite untenable; nor are they intelligible. Dr. O'CONOR offers no explanation, but leaves it to his readers to make sense of them if they can. The true meaning of the first Rubric is as follows:—

“Here the *Dignum* receives the addition, if *per quem* follows in the text;” and of the second—

“Here the *Dignum* receives the addition, if *Sanctus* follows in the text.”

To explain this we have only to recollect, that after the response of the people, “*Dignum et justum est*,” the priest proceeds:—

“Vere dignum et justum est æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte Pater, omnipotens, æterne Deus: per Christum Dominum nostrum.

“Per quem Majestatem tuam laudant angeli, &c.

“Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, &c.”

But on saints' days and festivals additions were made to the ordinary form of this prayer (called in these rubrics, from its first words, the *Dignum*) before the clause beginning *Per quem*, and before the *Sanctus*.

This fully explains the foregoing rubrics, which are intended to mark the places where the priest is to introduce these proper prefaces, as the English Liturgy calls them, in the Ordinary of the Mass.

The *Te igitur* is entitled, in a rubric of the later handwriting, “*Canon dominicus pape gilasi*.”

Dr. O'CONOR, in the section of his account of this MS. entitled “Remarkable Differences in the Canon of both Missals” (i. e. of the old Irish and of the present Roman Missal), quotes a passage from the Canon of the Irish Missal, which, he says, shows that it was compiled before the total abolition of idolatry in Ireland. In transcribing this passage he has omitted the word *sed*, but otherwise he gives it correctly: it is as follows:—

“Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ ecclesiæ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in commemorationem beatorum Martirum tuorum, in hac ecclesia quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis gloriæ tuæ ædificavit, quæsumus Domine ut placatus suscipias, eumque atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias, et ad te Dominum patrem omnipotentem convertas.”

Dr. O'CONOR has not noticed the most remarkable peculiarity of this prayer, namely, that it seems to refer to a particular church, and that it speaks of the founder or builder of that church as still living, praying “that *he*, as well as all the people, may be delivered from the worship of idols:”—“in hac ecclesia quam famulus tuus . . . ædificavit;”—“EUMQUE atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias, et ad te Dominum Patrem omnipotentem convertas.”

This is very singular. Are we to infer that the church alluded to was built by a Pagan, who continued still in idolatry? * If so, it is strange that he should be styled, as he is here, a servant of God, “famulus Tuus.” But what seems most remarkable is that he must evidently have been living when the prayer was composed: for “ab idolorum cultura eripias,” and “ad Te convertas,” are petitions that could not well occur in a prayer for the dead.

“The words of consecration,” Dr. O'CONOR adds, “follow those above mentioned, agreeing literally with the Roman, down to the *Memento* for the dead.” “But here,” he says, “the Irish differs not only from the Roman, but from the Gallican, German, Mozarabic, and all those that are mentioned by MARTENE, MABILLON, BONA, and RENAUDOT.” He gives the following extract correctly, with the exception of two omissions, which I have inserted in brackets:—

* There is a curious story in the Life of St. Ruadhan of Lorrha, which, however, bears upon the present subject only as showing that the supposition of an idolatrous chieftain building a Christian church is not impossible. “Fuit vir pessimus in regione Midia, nomine Eighmea, qui aliquando vicum Sancto Ædo filio Bric, ut ibi cellam ædificaret, obtulit.”—(Quoted by Colgan, Append. 2da, ad Vit. Columbæ, Part I., c. xxxix., p. 461.) This was St. Aedh Mac Bric, Bishop of Killare, in Meath. The story goes on to say that the man died, and that his soul was seized upon by the devils. St. Aedh, anxious to save him, invoked St. Ruadhan and St. Columba, both being then living, although absent, the one at Lorrha, the other at Hy. The saints flew to meet their brother St. Aedh, and all three fought the devils in the air, and delivered the captive soul of the *vir pessimus*.

“Memento etiam Domine et eorum nomina, qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis cum omnibus in toto mundo [offerentibus] sacrificium spirituale Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritu sancto, Sanctis et venerabilibus sacerdotibus offert senior noster .N. præsbyter, pro se et pro suis, et pro totius æclesie cetu catholice, et pro commemorando anathletico gradu venerabilium patriarcharum, profetarum, apostolorum, et martyrum, et omnium quoque Scotorum,* ut pro nobis Dominum Deum nostrum recordare dignentur :

S̄cē Stefane, ora pro nobis

S̄cē Martine, o. p. nobis

S̄cē Hironime, o. p. nobis

S̄cē Augustine o. p. nobis

“S̄cē Grigori, S̄cē Hilari, S̄cē Patricii, S̄cē Ailbei, S̄cē Finnio, S̄cē Finnio, S̄cē Ciarani [S̄cē Ciarani], S̄cē Brendini, S̄cē Brendini, S̄cē Columba, S̄cē Columba, S̄cē Comgilli, S̄cē Cainichi, S̄cē Findbarri.”

Here Dr. O'CONOR's extract stops. He adds:—“And so it proceeds, giving the names of thirteen other saints, all Irish; the latest of whom, Senecha, died before the middle of the seventh century.” The names of these thirteen saints are as follows:—

“S. Nessen, S. Factne, S. Lugid, S. Lacten, S. Ruadan, S. Cartheg, S. Coemngen, S. Mochonna, S. Brigta (*sic*), S. Ita, S. Scetha, S. Sinnech, S. Samdine.”

It will be observed that some names are repeated; because there were two saints of the name: as St. Finnio or Finnian, of Maghbile (ob. 579), and St. Finnian of Cluan-iraird [Clonard] (ob. 549); St. Ciaran of Saigher (said to have been older than St. Patrick), and St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois (ob. 549); St. Columba or Columbkille of Hy (ob. 595), and St. Columbanus (ob. 615); St. Brendan of Clonfert (ob. 577), and St. Brendan of Birr (ob. 572).

Dr. O'CONOR observes that the latest of these saints died before the middle of the seventh century, which, however, is not quite correct, for St. Mochonna

* I have very little doubt that this word is a mistake in Dr. O'CONOR's transcript, and that the original must be *scōrum*, i. e. *Sanctorum*, not *Scotorum*. But I omitted to note whether or not it was so, when I had the MS. before me.

died A. D. 704. He has, however, omitted to notice the fact that this Litany is not in the original hand of the MS., but in the later handwriting, of which I have several times spoken. The date, therefore, which is thus obtained applies to all these additions, made, as we have seen, by one Maolcaich; and, as they must, therefore, be referred to the eighth century, they furnish a strong additional evidence of the very high antiquity of the original Missal.

Dr. O'CONOR proceeds to describe the contents of the MS. as follows:—"The Litanies are followed by the *Agnus Dei*, and then by a short prayer which is ascribed to St. Ambrose; after which another commemoration begins of all the principal saints of the Old Testament, followed by Apostles, Martyrs, &c., down to St. Patrick. Forty-six others follow him, all Irish, the latest of whom is St. Kevin, the founder of Glendaloch. So that here again is a second enumeration of Irish worthies, terminating before the middle of the seventh page." Here again Dr. O'CONOR omits the fact that this second "enumeration of Irish worthies" is also in the more recent hand, which is thus again referred to the same period as before. Dr. O'CONOR proceeds:—

"The *Missa Cotidiana* is followed by the *Missa apostolorum et martirum et sanctorum et sanctarum virginum*, *Missa pro pœnitentibus vivis*, *Missa pro mortuis*."

I unfortunately neglected to note whether the "*Missa pro mortuis*" is in the original or in the more modern hand—a matter of considerable interest, as some would deem it an objection to the high antiquity of the original MS., that it contained such an Office.

At p. 70 the Missal terminates, and the *Ordo Baptismi* begins, giving the rites and ceremonies of baptism, as practised in the ancient Irish Church, and occupying 41 pages. At the end there are three or four pages more, containing a tract in very ancient Irish, of which Dr. O'CONOR takes no notice. It is probable that he found it difficult to read, as I confess I myself did also. But I could very easily have transcribed it, and would have done so, if the noble possessor of this most interesting relic of our Church would have consented. It appeared to be a general explanation of the Mass, and, if it were made public, it would, I have no doubt, be of great value, as establishing what the doctrine of the Irish Church on the subject of the Eucharist at that early period was.

For the same reason I omitted to transcribe the list of forty-six Irish saints, which follows the prayer of St. Ambrose, as mentioned above.

For the history of the MS. before it came into the Stowe collection the reader must be referred to Dr. O'Conor's Appendix, p. 50, from which we learn only that this venerable relic of the ancient Church of Ireland was found in Germany, by the late John Grace, Esq., of Nenagh, formerly an officer in the German service, who unfortunately died without leaving any memorandum respecting the monastery or individual from whom he procured it.

In conclusion, I have to apologize to the Academy for laying before them a paper in which I have had so often been obliged to reason from uncertain data, and very imperfect materials. But the subject is one of such importance to the history of the Church in Ireland, and to the history of the Missal of the Western Church, that I have ventured to submit to the Academy this very unsatisfactory essay, in the hope of drawing the attention of the learned to a literary relic of such inestimable value.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE been permitted by the Council of the Royal Irish Academy to add to the foregoing Paper a few additional remarks, in explanation or correction of what has been said.

With respect to the name written in Ogham characters, I have observed (p. 17) that, if it be read directly from left to right, it is SONID; but if we take it in the opposite direction, it reads DINOS.

I am much disposed to think the former to be the true reading, for the reason there stated, because the words that follow, "*Sanus* sit qui scripserit et cui scriptum est," seem plainly to allude to the name SONID, which is probably cognate with the word now written SONADH, *happy, prosperous*, and rendered SANUS, as being the nearest Latin word that occurred to the writer.

The reading DINOS has been suggested by Dr. GRAVES; and there is no doubt that Ogham names are often so written from right to left,—a practice common with Irish ecclesiastics, even in the use of ordinary letters, when they

desired to conceal or mask a mystery. Thus, MABILLON notices a MS. which he found at St. Gall, and which was, most probably, of Irish handwriting, as he speaks of its containing certain "barbara vocabula," which had baffled all attempts at interpretation. In this MS. there is an Epistle "Hrabani Archiepiscopi ad Heribaldum Alcedronensis ecclesiæ Episcopum," in which the following passage occurs:—

"Quod autem interrogasti, utrum ΑΥΘΕΥΡΑΚΥΗ postquam consumitur et in secessum emittitur more aliorum ciborum iterum redeat in naturam pristinam quam habuerat, antequam in altari consecraretur:"—

Here the word written in Greek characters, read from right to left, is ΗΥΚΑΡΥΘΥΑ, or *Eucharistia*, which the writer, for an obvious reason, desired, in the connexion in which it stands, to write in an occult form.

The extract proceeds:—

"Superflua est hujusmodi quæstio cum ipse Salvator dixerit in Evangelio: Omne quod intrat in os, in ventrem vadit, et in secessum emittitur. CAKPAMHNΘῩ ergo siroproc et siniugnas iñd. ex rebus visibilibus et corporalibus conficitur: sed invisibilem tam corporis quam animæ efficit sanctificationem."

In this passage the word in Greek characters is to be read from left to right, SACRAMENTUM; but the words following in Roman characters are to be read from right to left, so that the meaning is "Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis dñi [i. e. Domini]."

The remainder of this extract is as follows:—

"Quæ est enim ratio, ut hoc quod stomacho digeritur, et in secessum emittitur, iterum in statum pristinum redeat, cum nullus hoc unquam fieri assuerit? Nam quidam nuper de ipso Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non rite sentientes dixerunt, hoc ipsum esse corpus et sanguinem Domini quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et resurrexit de sepulcro. Cui errori, quantum potuimus, ad Eigilum Abbatem scribentes de eroproc ospi quod vere credendum sit aperuimus."

Here the words "eroproc ospi" are to be read from right to left, *corpore ipso*.*

In the Ogham writing this additional mode of rendering it occult, by writ-

* See MABILLON, *Vetera Analecta* (Ed. nov.), Paris, 1723. Fol. p. 17.

ing from right to left, has been frequently adopted, and Dr. GRAVES has observed that a Greek termination *os* is very often found in proper names in these inscriptions. He has hence inferred that in the present case DINOS would be really DIN, DIM, or DIMMA, the same name as that of the writer of a beautiful MS. of the Gospels of the seventh century, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; and it is remarkable that Dr. O'CONOR's fac-simile of the first page of the Gospel of St. John, in the Stowe MS., bears a striking resemblance to the Dimma Gospels, both as to style of illumination and handwriting, so that it may very easily be supposed to have been by the same scribe.

In the Ogham inscriptions, however, names with the termination *os* are in almost every instance *genitive* forms. But, in the case before us, DINOS, if we read the name so, seems to be nominative, being followed by the adjective "peregrinus." Nevertheless, we cannot lay much stress on this argument, inasmuch as the word "peregrinus" ought, perhaps, in correct Latin, to be a genitive. The words are:—

"Rogo quicumque hunc librum legeris ut memineris mei peccatoris Scriptoris, i. e. SONID [or DINOS] peregrinus."

Here it may be said that SONID, or DINOS, may as well be a genitive in apposition with *Scriptoris*, as a nominative agreeing with *peregrinus*. But it is more likely that the construction in the mind of the writer was "Ego SONID," or "DINOS, peregrinus rogo."

On the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that the name written in Ogham characters is SONID, and not DINOS.

In page 19, mention has been made of what Dr. O'CONOR calls "the antiphon Peccavimus;" and he has given in one of the plates at the end of vol. ii. of his "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores" a fac-simile of the page in which this "antiphon" commences. It is in the older or Lombardic character, and is as follows:—

"Peccavimus Domine, Peccavimus; parce peccatis nostris, et salva nos qui gubernasti Noe super undas diluvi, exaudi nos qui Ionam de abiso verbo revocasti, libera nos qui Petro mergenti manum porrexisti, auxiliare nobis Christe," &c.

In page 20, line 1, the reader is requested to read *Luxeul* instead of *Lisieul*.